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Aliens and Predators: Miscegenation, Prostitution and Racial Identities in Cardiff, 1927-1947

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ABSTRACT: This essay examines the intersections of prostitution and race in Cardiff, and shows that racialized concepts of predatory sexuality framed ideas of prostitution in twentieth-century British ports. These were linked to wider concerns over miscegenation in the dockside district of Butetown, a space historically linked to prostitution and seen as distinctly ‘foreign’ and ‘contagious’ by the interwar years. These debates were informed by local demographics and geographies, and were dominated by continuities in nineteenth-century ideas over race and sex. This evidence demonstrates the on-going fractured development of sexual knowledge and ideas of multiculturalism in twentieth-century Britain.

Keywords: prostitution, race, miscegenation, identities, docklands, sexuality, multiculturalism

Introduction

In interwar Cardiff, the Chief Constable produced a number of reports highlighting sexual issues in the city’s docklands, Butetown. Whereas prior depictions had focused on the problem of the female prostitute, contagion and regulation, interwar reports framed prostitution within ideas of racialized masculine sexuality, claiming that of the district’s ‘coloured’ and Maltese male population lay outside of ‘British’ moral codes. These ideas resonated into the 1940s and 1950s, being expressed by other local commentators, sociologists, and in local and national newspapers, with some explicitly judging the ‘standards’ of Cardiff’s ‘coloured’ man against those of the ‘Englishman’. Why did links

between prostitution and race in Cardiff dominate debates from the late-1920s? How were ‘coloured’ men perceived to be different and how did this perception of difference frame the city’s prostitution? What was implied by ‘British moral codes’ and the ‘Englishman’ in these debates, and what do they tell us about wider attitudes towards miscegenation and multiculturalism?

Despite an extensive literature on Victorian prostitution, studies of twentieth-century prostitution are limited.¹ Julia Laite’s work on prostitution in twentieth-century London examines prostitution within legal discourse and intervention, highlighting the diversity and complexity of the metropolis’s commercial sex industry. Laite argues that the twentieth century saw an increasing criminalization of female prostitutes, while also reinforcing earlier work on the nineteenth century by stressing the ‘ordinariness’ of women pathologically identified as ‘prostitutes’ in legal and moral discourses.² Equally, Stefan Slater has focused on the management of street prostitution and continental prostitutes, predominantly in Soho, focusing on ideas of containment and fluctuations in police concerns.³ Both call for the further study of prostitution in twentieth-century Britain, with Slater and Louise Jackson arguing that studies of ‘prostitution in London would merit comparison with venal sexual conduct in other urban metropolises in the United Kingdom, such as Belfast, Cardiff, Edinburgh, and Liverpool.’⁴

In shifting the focus from London to Cardiff, this article highlights how interpretations of prostitution were influenced by local contexts. As Matt Neale writes, ‘Studies of capital cities such as London often produce interesting results, but always leave the question of the extent to which their findings are relevant to understanding the experiences of other cities and towns.’⁵ Furthermore, as Laura Tabili’s recent work on multiculturalism in South Shields has demonstrated, focusing on provincial towns and cities can both ‘illuminate the local and interpersonal impacts of world-scale movements of population’ and demonstrate cultural

pluralisms across Britain.⁶ While Laite and Slater's work reveals how issues of race/ethnicity primarily arose through anxieties over migrant prostitutes and 'white slave traffic', evidence for Cardiff demonstrates how its context created a concentrated focus upon the sexuality of 'coloured' seamen as the clients/sexual partners of white 'prostitutes' and promiscuous 'amateurs', and Maltese men in the facilitation of these relationships.

The term 'amateur' entered the nomenclature of 'prostitution' during the First World War, when the female it signified usurped the idea of the nineteenth-century prostitute as a social threat. In February 1919, for instance, *The Times* wrote on the 'Menace of the Amateur Prostitute', claiming that the 'amateur' had grown to become the perceived source of the majority of gonorrhoea and syphilis cases in Britain.⁷ While the 'amateur' represented growing concerns over youthful female sexuality and venereal disease in interwar Britain, the term also occupied a grey area between the 'professional prostitute' and women of 'complete respectability'. The boundaries between notions of 'prostitute' and 'amateur' continued to blur in the interwar years, with no consensus offered as to the separation of these two ideas of 'deviance'.⁸ Therefore, the interwar 'amateur' may signify concerns over a "chain" of infection of a more generally promiscuous society, a 'part-time' or 'semi'-prostitute (a term also sometimes used), or both.⁹ As this article will illustrate, these concepts of 'amateur' and 'prostitute' were used interchangeably (and often simultaneously) in discussions of interracial sex.¹⁰

Boundaries were equally blurred around ideas of 'race'. Despite their focus on Cardiff, the debates examined in this article utilized a national/racial identity of ('white') 'Britishness', and often 'Englishness', as a framework for discussing sexual relations in the multiracial dockland. The reductive signifier 'coloured' was conflictingly used to describe only 'black' men at times and all 'non-white' persons at others. Meanwhile, the 'British'/'English' marker was used as an arbiter to formulate different identities for the two

male groups seen to be involved in Butetown's prostitution: the Maltese as 'pimps', and 'black' seamen as 'clients'. While the Maltese were perceived as sexually degenerate in providing the means for prostitution involving black men and 'British prostitutes', they did not possess an 'uncurbed sexual passion' like 'black' seamen.¹¹ The Maltese therefore represented a middle-ground in the hierarchy of racial-sexual identity between the perceived ideal of the 'British'/'Englishman' and the idea of the atavistic and hypersexual 'coloured man'. The 'British' moral codes and standards referred to in these debates were thus 'coconstructed' as a discursive product and racial identity alongside those formulated for Maltese café owners and 'black' seamen.¹²

Cultural theorist Mica Nava has argued that, unlike the United States, in Britain in the 1930s and 1940s 'the image of the "negro" was more likely to be associated with modernity and the city'.¹³ Evidence for Cardiff contests this view. The image of the 'coloured seaman' that came to frame ideas of prostitution in this period – both locally and nationally – was informed by a pathologization of black sexuality which had more in common with nineteenth-century and imperialist concerns over race and sexuality than progressive notion of 'modernity and the city'. This evidence also highlights the genealogy of racial-sexual ideas illustrated in analyses of responses to immigration in the post-Second World War period.¹⁴ Nava has recently criticized such explanations for over-emphasis on (and 'misrepresentations' of) racial 'antagonisms', with her findings suggesting a 'more anti-racist, international and forward-looking' Britain.¹⁵ Notwithstanding the sympathetic stance of investigators like Nancie Sharpe and Kenneth Little in the 1930s and 1940s, particular anxieties surrounding the topic of sex endured. Furthermore, the source material rarely provides a window for the historian to view the opinions and relationships of interwar multiracial communities, which are often obscured by stereotyping and generalizations.

Rather than focusing on the number of prostitutes and their experiences at the hands of the law, this article provides an exploration of the ideas and discourses of prostitution in Cardiff from the mid-1920s, which were informed by a wider epistemological framework of miscegenation. While Bland's recent work on interwar sexual transgression has highlighted how miscegenation fears in London's dockland centred upon white women and Chinese men, for Cardiff concerns were firmly around black seamen and white 'prostitutes' and 'amateurs'.¹⁶ These debates highlighted Maltese-owned caf  s covertly functioning as brothels and facilitating sites for miscegenation between black men and white women, and also linked 'half-caste' children to prostitution.¹⁷ 'Coloured' men involved in sexual relationships with 'prostitutes' and 'amateurs' were viewed as hypersexual, predatory and of an inferior intellect. Their white partners, whether 'prostitute' or 'amateur', were viewed as victims in some cases and predatory figures in others. These interpretations also identified the multiracial space of Butetown as a source of contagion, highlighting how environment influenced ideas of sexuality. That 'Britishness' and 'Englishness' were dominant markers in a 'Welsh' setting highlights the continued authority of beliefs in 'British'/'English' superiority *and* multi-faceted British-Welsh identities in south Wales. Through this exploration of the intersections of race and prostitution, this article further demonstrates how localized cultures, demographics, geographies and processes influenced the perception and regulation of sexual activity, and thus illustrates the pluralities of prostitution in twentieth-century Britain.

Cardiff: a case study for dockland prostitution

In a survey of recent studies on the contemporary history of port cities, Josef Konvitz has argued for the recognition of the 'primacy' of port cities within the processes of globalization.¹⁸ Instigated by the world-wide demand for steam coal, Cardiff grew from a

small market town at the beginning of the nineteenth century to a major global port by its end, ranking with Liverpool and London in terms of tonnage cleared and dominating the British coal export industry.¹⁹ A range of criminal and moral anxieties accompanied its growth, often linked to alcohol, yet prostitution was a constant cause for concern alongside the dockland district of Butetown.²⁰ Although designed in the 1840s and 1850s to house both merchants and seaman, the middle classes quickly left for the emerging suburbs, leaving Butetown to become home to Cardiff's migrant sailor population. The heterogeneous composition of the area in contrast to its far more homogeneous counterparts, coupled with a physical separation from the rest of the city (being encircled by a canal, railway lines and the sea), helped to cement notions of it being an 'alien enclave'.²¹

Discourses surrounding the Contagious Diseases Acts of the 1860s also helped to link ideas of prostitution to the dockland, and multicultural Butetown was seen to be home to a different form of prostitute to other districts.²² In December 1869 the conservative *Western Mail*, Cardiff's leading newspaper, compared Butetown to Bethnal Green and certain districts in Liverpool, arguing that it was home 'coarse and [...] vulgar common prostitute'.²³ Such views were echoed twenty years later by the liberal *Cardiff Argus*, a critic of the *Western Mail*, which asserted that Butetown was as 'little more than a nest of brothels'.²⁴ Much like depictions found across Britain, ideas of prostitution in late-Victorian and Edwardian Cardiff predominantly focused on working-class/underclass female prostitutes transgressing bourgeois norms within urban middle-class space, through robbery, or the narrative of the fallen woman.²⁵

While Butetown was not alone as a significant source of anxiety in these years, the racial tensions accompanying the end of the First World War ensured that Butetown emerged as the most troublesome district for the authorities and observers. In the years immediately after the First World War, Butetown seemingly became the only area of the city linked to

prostitution, owing mainly to miscegenation concerns following demographic shifts in the district.²⁶ While it had been home to a variety of nationalities since the mid-nineteenth century, Butetown's multiracial character grew during the conflict. Labour shortages and an increased demand for seafarers to bolster Britain's shipping industry led to a rise in seamen from Britain's colonies. Following demobilization, black populations in ports like Cardiff grew significantly: it has been estimated that the city's black population increased from 700 in 1914 to 3,000 by late-1918, though given that Cardiff was the centre of Britain's transient tramp shipping trade this number constantly fluctuated and concrete figures are almost impossible to pinpoint.²⁷ Information on boarding houses in figure 1, however, does help to demonstrate the diversity of the area. Cardiff City Police later claimed that they had recorded 'approximately half a million aliens' passing through the port during the war.²⁸ Significantly, given the nature of shipping and soldiery these incomers were almost exclusively male.

Post-war unemployment and anxieties over miscegenation coupled with gender shifts during the war came to a head in April-June 1919 when Britain's largest ports experienced race riots, with three people being killed in Cardiff where some of the most notable rioting took place.²⁹ Increasing international competition, unemployment and a downturn in the coal and shipping industries augmented the numbers of seamen ashore and racial tensions became fraught again in the interwar years.³⁰ Being connected to global economic processes, ports are thus unique social contexts to explore ideas of race and prostitution, with Cardiff in particular providing an excellent case study given Butetown's historical links with prostitution and the racial tensions of the interwar period.

Café culture

During the late-1920s downturn in the coal and shipping trades and resulting unemployment at the docks, Cardiff's Chief Constable, James A. Wilson, became concerned 'with the

growth in [...] Bute Town, of questionable establishments which are styled as “cafés” owned by ‘Maltese, Indians, other coloured men, and some aliens’. Wilson saw these as ‘a serious menace, not only to the welfare of seamen of all nations who enter this port but to young men and women of this City and its environs who, through unemployment and vicious tendencies, are attracted to the shipping quarter.’³¹ This concern compelled him to write a series of reports to the Home Secretary, William Joynson-Hicks, in which he protested that the Maltese had instigated a systemic shift in Cardiff’s prostitution, from ‘the old style brothel which was a house used by prostitutes for their own purposes and a so-called café in which prostitutes and immoral women under the guise of waitresses and dance partners cater for the sexual licence of the floating population.’³² These concerns centred on a belief that the innately exploitative tendencies of the Maltese facilitated spaces in Butetown, predominantly along its main thoroughfare, Bute Street (Figure 2), enabling ‘illicit carnal intercourse between the white and coloured races’.³³

Wilson presented a report to Cardiff’s Watch Committee in January 1929, stirred by accusations made to the Lord Mayor by influential local businessman and solicitor Frederick de Courcy Hamilton and continuing debates over Butetown’s ‘colour problem’. Hamilton had protested, in line with nineteenth-century ideas, that drinking establishments were the primary cause of Butetown’s prostitution. The Chief Constable refuted this, countering that the cause of such ‘sins’ was the ‘coloured seamen[’s...] lack of moral standard, compatible with our modern conception of decency, and their unification with the lower strata of the white race’. Wilson claimed that a ‘serious problem’ lay in ‘coloured’ men, being ‘not imbued with our moral code’, and their ‘intimate contact with the female sex of the white Race, principally those [...] who are prostitutes or women of loose moral character’ within Butetown’s cafés. Linking ideas of racial tendency and prostitution, Wilson argued that West Indians ‘dislike work’ and were ‘dissolute, thieves, inveterate gamblers, the associates of prostitutes and

strongly suspected of living on their immoral earnings', while West African 'Kroo Boys' were seen as 'of an inferior order and almost primitive in their habits'.³⁴

The war and its aftermath had seen significant debates over 'coloured' and 'alien' seamen that were reflected in the amendments to the 1905 Aliens Act, particularly the 1925 Special Restriction (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order, which has been seen to signify wider constructions of racial difference in 1920s Britain. This Order required undocumented black seamen in Britain register themselves as 'aliens', which thus further impaired their ability to obtain work and many were threatened with deportation.³⁵ One observer reported that in Cardiff the police 'employed any and every means to compel [all] coloured seamen to register as aliens' under the auspices of the Order.³⁶ This background, coupled with issues around mercantile unemployment and increasing competition in the shipping trade, led national newspapers to pick up on the Chief Constable's report, relaying his ideas to a wider national audience.³⁷ The stories featured prominently and were awarded sensational, blaring headlines. The so-called 'colour problem' appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* on 10 January, reiterating the Chief Constable's concerns over the 'evil' of 'coloured men mixing with white girls' employed in cafés seen as 'nothing but dens of infamy'.³⁸ Meanwhile, *The Times*, invoking a Victorian language of prostitution, used the 'social evil' in its headline to describe both Butetown's prostitution and the co-habitation of 'coloured men and white women'.³⁹ However, the most notable reporting was undertaken by the *Daily Herald*. Under the sensational headline 'COLOURED MEN AND WHITE GIRLS – Revelations of Life in a Seaport – NO REMEDY – Hundreds of Half-Caste Children', it re-emphasized the Chief Constable's salacious views and quoted his report at length, framing the prostitution of Bute Street cafés within wider anxieties over miscegenation.⁴⁰ The *Daily Herald* ran a second article under another screaming headline, which again protested relations between black men and white women within Butetown's alleged café brothels, claiming that the situation in

Cardiff was more acute than at other ports like Glasgow, Hull, Liverpool and Portsmouth.⁴¹

Why did the police and the press exhibit such fierce concerns over Butetown's black men when discussing the area's prostitution?

Predation/Victimhood

Whereas white men were described as 'licentious', it was the 'coloured' man's 'uncurbed sexual passion' which was felt to 'dominat[e] their actions'.⁴² Ideas of predatory sexuality permeated through the ideas of the Chief Constable and others writing on Butetown in the 1920s and 1930s. These ideas were reflected in concerns voiced in a Wesleyan-funded comparative study of living conditions in black communities in Cardiff and London, conducted in 1932. This survey was instigated by concerns over Butetown's black community expressed by the district's Loudoun Square Methodist Church, and its report was prepared by Nancie Sharpe, a social investigator who also wrote for *The Keys*, the journal of the League of Coloured Peoples (LCP). The LCP was founded in 1931 by a Jamaican, Harold Moody, and deployed a British-imperial identity in seeking equal rights for black Britons. Supported by both black 'colonials' and white 'British', it successfully campaigned to restore British citizenship to 'coloured' seamen in Cardiff in 1936.⁴³ Sharpe's study also intended to counter a survey conducted by Muriel Fletcher for the Liverpool Association for the Welfare of Coloured Children. Fletcher was primarily concerned with Liverpool's 'half-caste' children, which she believed were more inferior than both sets of parents *and* 'low-type' white working-class children. Fletcher also argued that the employability and unemployment of black seamen was a grave social problem, and that black settlements in Liverpool and other ports, including Cardiff, needed to be controlled.⁴⁴

Despite an attempt to empathize with these communities to counter the Fletcher Report, negative conceptions of non-white sexuality were evident in Sharpe's work. It is clear

from her report that while some liberally-minded observers attempted to understand and rethink the social predicament of migrant groups, understandings of sexuality still relied on established narratives of race and sex. In framing the sexuality of Butetown's inhabitants, Sharpe wrote of men whom she believed were 'hot-blooded', 'extremely interested in sex' and '[more] desirous of a sexual outlet, and often in their wish for this they make use of a girl of 17, 16, or even 15, whom an Englishman would still consider a child. Th[is is because] people from hot countries mature before people in more temperate climates, and the social customs are different.'⁴⁵ Likewise, Sharpe also recorded in her research that 'Negroes make undue sexual demands on their wives and that women resent it.'⁴⁶ In her view, 'coloured men' did not have the ability to ascertain the 'standards' of white women as they had 'not the judgement of Englishmen', who were 'less likely to indulge in irregular intercourse'.⁴⁷ Sharpe argued that this dichotomy also led 'coloured' men to 'often marry girls who are, or have been, semi-prostitutes'.⁴⁸ Such representations were familiar, as similar language and imagery figured in press responses to the 1919 riots when 'coloured' men had been presented as hypersexual in contrast to the more 'moral' practices of the 'Englishman'.⁴⁹

Ideas of predation extended to white 'prostitute' and 'amateur' women involved in sexual relationships with Butetown's black men, and reiterated nineteenth-century ideas. However, these also merged with contemporary concerns over female sexuality in blurring ideas of prostitution and promiscuity. Sharpe, for instance, claimed that these women were 'of a poor type, lower than that of the usual class in the district',⁵⁰ and that

When the sex relations of coloured men and white women are considered [...] there are many gradations between prostitution and complete respectability. From regular prostitution the grades go through occasional prostitution to great casualness, either for pleasure or in gratitude for gifts given beforehand. Then there is occasional casualness, the changing of

partner occasionally, seduction and desertion by one man and intercourse before marriage. All these methods may be used by women who use sex for their own purpose, and all may be exploited by men.⁵¹

In Sharpe's view, the majority of prostitutes or girls with illegitimate children fell into one of these three 'categories'. These interpretations echoed those of Fletcher, who offered four categories of women involved in sexual relations with black men: (1) those with an illegitimate child by a white man who refused to marry them, or an illegitimate 'coloured' child; (2) those who were mentally weak; (3) prostitutes; and (4) young women with a 'spirit of adventure' (i.e. the 'amateur') who are subsequently unable to break away.⁵²

These debates continued notions of disability in attempting to understanding perceived venal sexual activities. Sharpe, for example, argued that the 'class of women' in relationships with black men included 'semi-prostitutes and those who have illegitimate children', whom she saw as 'mainly not well balanced or a little dull' – in the sense that their promiscuity could be explained by them having learning disabilities.⁵³ As Seal has highlighted, attention to disabilities within discussions of sexuality and links between prostitution and 'feeble-mindedness' help demonstrate that 'disability is both socially constructed and intertwined with understandings of gender, race and class', with such constructs being used to designate 'notions such as normal cognitive ability and good health.'⁵⁴ These constructs were additionally used to fortify notions of difference in intellectual ability between different sets of people, reflecting the on-going and complex intertwining of sexological and eugenic ideas within discourses of social purity and reform.⁵⁵ Such notions were vividly present in Sharpe's work. She believed that the dockland's men had 'no self-control' in responding to the port environment with 'no idea of the reasons for it', leading them to be victims of predatory prostitutes who 'specialized' in 'coloured men'.⁵⁶ Other investigators used a similar frame of reference. In a 1933 survey of prostitution in

which Cardiff was used as the main example for seaports, the author equally stressed this idea of intellectual inferiority and victimhood in claiming that the non-white seaman 'is as a rule noticeably generous and simple-minded, and he is not unnaturally a desirable customer for prostitutes and others whose object is money.'⁵⁷ Similarly, the *Western Mail* reported on the 'excusable ignorance' of black seamen, in that it was not surprising that venereal disease was 'common amongst them' as unlike 'enlightened men' they were unable to perceive its 'dangers'.⁵⁸

Links between prostitution and intellectual inferiority extended to the children of interracial relationships, who were often seen to possess an inferior intellect to both sets of parents.⁵⁹ In its coverage of the Chief Constable's 1929 report to the Watch Committee, the *Daily Herald* referenced 'Hundreds of Half-Caste Children' in the story's headline, claiming that their 'existence' was 'disturbing', and explicitly linked mixed-race children with prostitution.⁶⁰ The Reverend of Butetown's St Michael's Church claimed that 'the Anglo-Negroid mixture is vicious and a menace to the community',⁶¹ while Sharpe wrote that 'the mixture of races tends to the emergence of the lowest common denominator of customs.'⁶² A fear of miscegenation was a key feature in the framing of prostitution in interwar Cardiff, and the Chief Constable was perturbed enough to advocate the adoption of laws along the lines of South Africa's 1927 Immorality Act, which prohibited interracial sexual contact. In his view, police forces, as opposed to social reformers, were in an ideal position to act against 'the fact that our race has become leavened with colour strain to such an extent'.⁶³

Concerns over prostitution and miscegenation also centred on ideas of white women's allure to the 'foreign' sexuality of Butetown's men, echoing the Fletcher Report's comments on women with a 'spirit of adventure'. This sense of allure was outlined as a cause of how women became café prostitutes. The conservative social investigator Gladys Mary Hall conducted a survey of British prostitution in 1933 in which Cardiff was used as the main

example for seaports.⁶⁴ Hall claimed that Butetown's 'attractions usually include women who are themselves drawn there from mercenary motives, or by the fascination which the foreign seamen possesses for very many of the younger women.'⁶⁵ Stressing the allure of the docklands, she further wrote of 'a certain mystery which attracts adventurous white girls like a magnet [...] The negro is generous, and his usually magnificent physique powerfully attracts some girls.'⁶⁶ The views expressed by Hall and others writing about the allure of 'foreign' sexuality echoed nineteenth-century ideas of race and sexuality, particularly with colonial ideas over the perceived physical prowess of black men which, as Levine has noted, 'rendered colonial men not manly but animalistic.'⁶⁷ Notwithstanding attempts to rethink categories of race, such views reveal how stereotypical notions of sexuality, particularly around the idea of black males as sexual predators. These ideas persisted in debates about the relationship between race and prostitution in the 1920s and 1930s, and were also linked to increases in the use of sub-let apartments.⁶⁸

Prostitution, property and polyandry

Laite's work on London has illustrated how changing patterns of prostitution were related to those in the property market, with female prostitutes utilizing sub-let rooms and apartments.⁶⁹ The use of sub-lets also emerged in debates about prostitution in interwar Cardiff, yet the interpretation of this was driven not by the methods of female prostitutes but by ideas of the predatory nature of the 'coloured man'. Such notions were expressed by Reverend John Thomas, secretary of the South Wales and Monmouthshire Vigilance Association, a branch of the abolitionist National Vigilance Association formed in 1885 during the furore around W. T. Stead's 'Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon' and the Criminal Law Amendment Act.⁷⁰ Thomas was a Calvinistic minister who had founded a rescue home and had been instrumental in a 'temperance and purity crusade' prior to the First World War that resulted in

the closure of '30 public houses and many brothels'.⁷¹ In a January 1927 report he expressed concerns over 'the growth of homes divided into single apartments, sublet for immoral purposes, yet did not constitute a brothel in the eye of the English law.' Stressing the predatory nature of Butetown's non-white men, he added: 'To these many young women are being lured to associate with coloured men and aliens.'⁷² The *South Wales Daily News* also wrote of how 'English girls' were being 'lured' to Cardiff's 'immoral houses without hope of escape'. Through answering 'advertisements for governesses and companions' they had allegedly found themselves 'in disorderly houses with coloured men', and houses 'bought by aliens who were outing British residents'. Like Thomas, the newspaper lamented that these did not constitute 'brothels' under law.⁷³ While sub-lets may have operated as sites for prostitution in interwar Cardiff, one can safely assume they were also used by couples for non-venal sexual relations. However, anxieties over interracial sex led them as a whole to be deemed covert brothels, and these views further demonstrate an anxiety over interracial relationships which blurred prostitution and promiscuity.

The Chief Constable also expressed concerns over sub-lets in his January 1929 report to the Watch Committee. Wilson argued that the 'coloured man' possessed 'knowledge' by which to exploit the state of social 'disorder', through which he obtained a 'white woman of low moral character' unable to refuse through her own 'volition'. He went on to note: 'The coloured seamen and their white paramours' then became 'sub-tenants of certain houses and the law cannot touch them.'⁷⁴ Wilson wrote of '[n]umerous large houses', including ex-seamen's boarding houses in Butetown and houses along Fitzhamon Embankment in Riverside to the north-west of Butetown, being 'sub-let or 'farmed out' on the 'furnished room' or 'apartment' system to coloured men and white women, some of whom may be married but more often simply cohabiting under sordid conditions for the duration of the seamen's stay on shore.'⁷⁵ Similar ideas were presented in the work of Kenneth Little, a

social anthropologist who was seen to ‘pioneer[...] anthropological descriptions of negroes in Britain’,⁷⁶ and whose early-1940s work on Butetown appeared in various articles and his influential 1947 monograph, *Negroes in Britain*.⁷⁷ In a preliminary survey, Little wrote of houses ‘run on more or less “polyandrous” lines’ whereby women held a number of ‘temporary “husbands”’ from whom she received an ‘allotment’ or ‘retaining fee’. In Little’s eyes this was ‘a practice which at times brings in a fairly considerable income to the lady in question.’⁷⁸ Little suggested that ‘polyandrous’ women were ex-Bute Street café prostitutes who had to leave that ‘milieu’ as they had contracted venereal disease, become notorious and were forced to find other ways of supporting themselves.⁷⁹ Little also linked the identities of prostitutes and the non-white citizens of Butetown, again displaying continuities with nineteenth-century ideas of how prostitutes were distinct from their ‘respectable sisters’.⁸⁰ Little claimed that Butetown’s (male) community, as ‘seafarers, and as racially distinctive strangers, their alien quality and the corresponding isolation has a twofold basis. The fact that other ‘isolated’ types, such as prostitutes, who are likewise out of status with the greater society, should also be found in the same area seems to add further theoretical point to this suggestion.’⁸¹ This concentration on space is significant: Butetown was seen as an area of allure, contagion, a casual factor in prostitution and associated issues, and a distinctly racialized space.

Racialized spaces and imperial identities

Prostitution is intimately linked with environment, in terms of spatial use and representation. Sociologists Phil Hubbard and Teela Sanders have argued that prostitution is produced by the constant and recursive spatial practices of sex workers and the spatial strategies of agents like the police, the legal system, non-governmental organizations and local residents.⁸² In work on twentieth-century London, ideas of prostitution and space have caused contention. Whereas

Slater claims that the police operated spatial strategies to contain prostitution, Laite illustrates that the spatial practices of prostitutes were far more widespread and multifaceted than he suggests.⁸³ In the case of Cardiff, the police clearly sought to regulate prostitution in Butetown through using licensing laws to limit the number of Maltese cafés in Bute Street, and also through an unsuccessful attempt to lobby the Home Secretary to deport Maltese café owners under the auspices of the Aliens Orders.⁸⁴ Whereas the police sought to control the area's prostitution through monitoring and regulating Bute Street cafés, and there is some evidence to suggest that there were fears over prostitution spreading from the dockland into the city centre, they did not necessarily pursue a policy of containment.⁸⁵ While this is not to say that prostitution did not occur in different areas of Cardiff, Butetown became the most potent cause for concern in the eyes of the police and other observers. Central to these concerns were constructions of the area as a racialized and contagious space.⁸⁶

Butetown's physical environment helped to cement ideas of it as distinctly 'foreign'. Nancie Sharpe outlined how it was 'very much cut off from the rest of the city', bounded by railways and canals, with only one thoroughfare running from central Cardiff in the north to the commercial district south of Butetown's central residential section.⁸⁷ The physical separation of this multicultural area fortified conceptions of its 'difference', with commentators like Gladys Mary Hall writing of its 'cultural and physical difference [...] from the rest of the city', and describing the area as a 'foreign quarter'.⁸⁸ Ideas of 'foreignness' for Butetown were often linked to notions of empire. On 10 January 1929 the *South Wales Echo* argued that Butetown 'and its population of mixed races raises two questions, one local and the other of Empire.'⁸⁹ It later described 'centres of vice' emanating from 'cafés and lodging-houses of foreign element', and described the district as 'Cardiff's Coloured Colony'.⁹⁰ Globalized and 'foreign' aspects were stressed in other local sources: writing to the periodical *Welsh Outlook* in 1931, one observer argued that: 'In a big seaport there is always the

problem of white girls being lured or drifting into association with black and yellow men, and seldom do they escape an unhappy ending [...].’ This account explicitly stressed Butetown’s racialized identity in referring to the area as ‘Nigger Town’ and claimed that it presented ‘a grim and realistic problem’ in terms of its ‘hybrid, floating population’ and its prostitutes.⁹¹

Sharpe believed that sexual desire was directly linked to space, and argued that the loneliness and ‘drab dock environment’ of the area led its men to seek a ‘sexual outlet’ through the ‘many prostitutes’ and ‘low places of amusement’ to be found there.⁹² Like its male inhabitants, Sharpe saw the port environment as possessing a corrupting influence over women, influencing them to ‘make money out of their sex, and the women native to the port areas see that sex plays a large part in the life [a]round them and get used to the idea of giving it an artificial importance.’⁹³ Sharpe’s views on Butetown’s geography and its cultural ramifications therefore presented the area as a corrupting and contagious space to those who did not have the adequate ‘judgement’ to negotiate it. For many commentators, only spatial changes like the provision of leisure and community facilities, alongside information and free prophylactics against venereal diseases, could remedy the ‘undesirable activities’ associated with Butetown. In 1935 the British Social Hygiene Council (BSHC) and British Council for the Welfare of the Mercantile Marine (BCWMM) established Port Welfare Committees in Cardiff, Liverpool and London, and one of the intended aims of these groups was to improve conditions in port, including the provision of ‘decent amusements’, ‘decent places of refreshment’ and venereal disease information and treatments.⁹⁴ The BSHC’s concerns over Butetown were initially driven by fears over the proliferation of venereal diseases in seaports, which reinforced the links being made between contagion and space in discourses of prostitution in the 1920s and 1930s. In partnership with the BCWMM, the BSHC established a Committee on Port Welfare in 1934 to examine what they described as ‘problems presented by the presence of Indian and coloured seamen in [Britain] and their bearing on the question

of social hygiene.’ With work initially planned for London and Liverpool, the group also included Cardiff at general secretary Sybill Neville-Rolfe’s insistence due to what she saw as ‘a special problem there in regard to the resident coloured seamen.’ The committee agreed that one Captain Richardson conduct a survey of Cardiff, Liverpool and London to be delivered at a national conference on the mercantile marine which was held on 8 July 1935.⁹⁵

The Richardson Survey explicitly identified Butetown as a contagious space, purporting that Butetown’s cafés attracted ‘not only [...] the sailors, but the men from the surrounding country as well’, adding the claim that 88 per cent of venereal disease cases in the port came ‘from abroad’ while in excess of 50 per cent of cases in ‘the mining villages and towns around Cardiff’ could be traced ‘to the so-called cafés in Bute Street’. Richardson also alleged that Cardiff had the second-largest expenditure on treating venereal disease in the United Kingdom.⁹⁶ Stressing Butetown as an identifiably ‘foreign’ space with ‘continental’ elements, the Richardson Survey argued that its café brothels ‘prosper year in and year out in the same way as do the lower and more disorderly type of restaurants in certain continental cities.’ The survey also claimed that the dockland’s public houses were more numerous and ‘more decrepit, more flagrantly the rendezvous of vice, and more sordid than are the public-houses of any other neighbourhood.’⁹⁷ Similarly, Kenneth Little later claimed that Butetown was a regional centre for ‘male pleasure seekers’, particularly on the event of international rugby matches, and that ‘the attribution of over 50 per cent of the cases of venereal disease in the mining villages and towns to a Bute Street origin can be accepted as a reasonably valid estimate.’⁹⁸ Despite his empathy with residents burdened by outsiders’ blurring of the image of Bute Street with the entire district, Little likewise described Butetown as a “‘red light” quarter’ characterized by its plentiful women (prostitutes) and cafés/quasi-public houses (brothels). ‘Differing from other great ports of the kingdom’, he argued that such ‘indoor diversions’ existed in place of ‘football and cricket pitches, bowling greens or swimming

baths', those respectable (and discernibly 'British'/'English') public leisure activities present in other districts.⁹⁹ Through such ideas, Little and other commentators implied that Butetown had a distinct 'foreign' identity, and also explicitly referred to it as resembling a 'continental ghetto'.¹⁰⁰

As with much of the discourse relating to Butetown, concerns about prostitution and race were entwined with imperialist notions of the dominance of 'Britishness'/'Englishness'. As Levine has commented, 'British pride centred as much on a perceived distance from European mores as it did on separation from non-white peoples'.¹⁰¹ While European mores were suspect, the imperialist 'assertion of Britain's national greatness, exceptionalism, and moral uprightness relied on a narrative of Britain's unique and separate development', a view which collapsed 'English' and 'British' into one another, and tended to overlook other ways in which identity may have been framed or regionalized.¹⁰² While these observers described prostitution and race in Cardiff, issues relating to 'Welshness' were marginalized whereas 'Britishness' and 'Englishness' specifically dominated. As we have seen, Sharpe's work consistently set Butetown's 'coloured' men against the supposedly superior identity of the 'Englishman', while Kenneth Little's *Negroes in Britain* was presented as *A Study of Racial Relations in English Society*, and a number of prior articles based on his research featured titles referring to Butetown and its central area, Loudoun Square, as 'aspects' of 'English society'. A *Keys* author also stressed the English context, writing of the 'racial animosity' rising in 'England' despite the wives of many black seamen being 'products of the soil, and their children are ENGLISH.'¹⁰³

While references towards 'Englishness' might have reflected ignorance or a fixation with the perceived cultural and moral arbiter of 'little England', industrial south Wales was also tightly knitted into an identifiably 'British' fabric of society.¹⁰⁴ The processes of industrialisation, urbanisation and inward migration in south Wales created an 'Imperial

Wales'; a region with a distinct class-based and Anglicized British-Welsh identity, which contrasted against geographically-driven Welsh nationalist identities in other regions.¹⁰⁵ Recent surveys of Wales and Empire have also demonstrated the pluralistic nature of Welsh identity in the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹⁰⁶ While 'Welshness' did not coalesce with 'Britishness' in the same manner as 'Englishness', it was an aspect of Britain's 'hegemonic colonial ethnicity', and thus had ties to its imperial position.¹⁰⁷ This British-imperial standpoint provided a marker in constructing ideas of Butetown's prostitution, based upon a systematically racialized conception of the sexuality of the area's non-white men, as well as the space of Butetown itself.

Conclusion

Ideas of prostitution in Cardiff were framed within concepts of race, primarily negative perceptions of black masculine sexuality. These depictions argued that black men held an innate, predatory sexual nature which exploited Butetown's socio-sexual issues and women who were of 'low character' or 'not well-balanced'. Yet, contradictorily, they also presented black men as being of an inferior intellect and a victim of the dock environment and its predatory prostitutes. Therefore, while Laite's work on London has emphasized an increasing focus on female prostitutes in twentieth-century London, evidence for Cardiff demonstrates a distinct focus on the perceived sexualities of non-white men. The intensity of the framing of prostitution in this racialized modality also differed from debates over 'race' and 'foreignness' in London highlighted by Laite and Slater, who have shown that these primarily emerged in anxieties over migrant prostitutes during the interwar years and in the light of post-Second World War immigration.¹⁰⁸

Debates in Cardiff were heavily embroiled in anxieties over miscegenation within the racialized area of Butetown, seen by authorities as a 'breeding ground' for 'illicit carnal

intercourse between', and 'permeation of', the 'white and coloured races'. These debates illustrate that the experiences and understandings of multiculturalism in twentieth-century Britain were neither universal nor linear. Significant in the formation of the understandings of prostitution and race in Cardiff was its local development, demographics and geographies. Butetown had formed as a distinct multiracial district, with urban geographies which heightened feelings of both physical and cultural separation from other districts. A centre of the tramp shipping trade it was home to a fluctuating, transient population that increased during downturns in the shipping industry, and, unsurprisingly, these downturns correlate with the intensity of debate over race and prostitution in the district. This demonstrates that, like ideas of multiculturalism, perceptions of prostitution were subject to localized contexts and processes, and that understandings of commercial sex in Britain were not universal.

Through the blurring of prostitution and promiscuity, debates in Cardiff did mirror contemporary national concerns over the prevalence of the 'amateur'. However, these aspects were overwhelmed by the links to race and miscegenation, and ideas of prostitution and promiscuity in this context were informed by imperial and nineteenth-century notions of race and sex. Unlike the local police, social investigators and sociologists were sympathetic to the social and economic predicament of Butetown's community. However, despite attempting to rethink and reject traditional racial ideas and stereotypes, when dealing with sexuality these observers reverted to and were constrained by customary and established racialized viewpoints. As with ideas over multiculturalism and prostitution, these continuities signify an on-going fracturing of sexual knowledge in twentieth-century Britain, as opposed to linear progression.

Acknowledgements

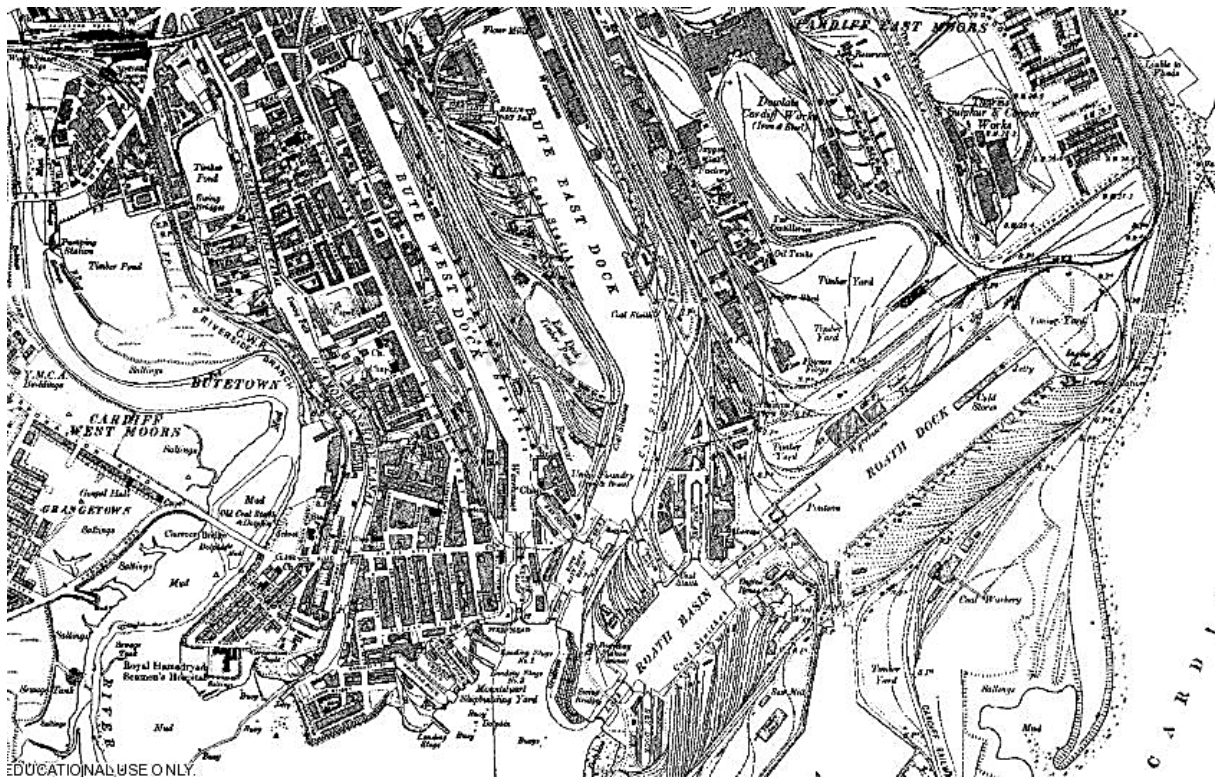
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Figure 1: Nationality of Butetown's Boarding Houses, 1926

Nationality	Number
Arab	22
Arab and Egyptian	3
British	21
British and Scandanavian	9
British, Spanish and Portuguese	1
British, Spanish and Italian	1
British and Spanish	1
British and Portuguese	1
British and West African	1
Danish/Scandinavian	1
Chilean	1
Greek	10
Indian	1
Italian	1
Maltese	2
Malay	2
Portuguese	3
Portuguese and Maltese	1
Russian and Finnish	1
Scandinavian	1
Scandinavian, Lett and Finnish	3
Somali	4
Spanish	2
West African	4
West African/West Indian	5
West Indian	5
Other	2

Source: Evans, 'Regulating the Reserve Army', p. 71.



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Figure 2: Butetown and Cardiff docklands, 1920s. Bute Street is the thoroughfare that lies parallel to the west of the Bute West Dock.

NOTES

¹ Judith Walkowitz, “‘We Are Not Beasts of the Field’: Prostitution and the Poor in Plymouth and Southampton under the Contagious Diseases Acts’, *Feminist Studies*, 1:3/4, (1973), 73-106; *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne, [1980] 1999); *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (London, [1992] 1994). Paula Bartley, *Prostitution: Prevention and Reform in England, 1860-1914* (London and New York, 2000). Linda Mahood, *The Magdalenes: Prostitution in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1990).

² Julia Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens: Commercial Sex in London, 1885-1960* (Basingstoke, 2011); ‘The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene: Abolitionism and Prostitution Law in Britain (1915-1959)’, *Women’s History Review*, 17:2 (2008), 207-223; ‘Taking Nellie Johnson’s Fingerprints: Prostitutes and Legal Identity in Early Twentieth-Century London’, *History Workshop Journal*, 65:1 (2008), 96-116. Helen Self has also explored the legal discourses of twentieth-century prostitution: *Prostitution, Women and the Misuse of Law: The Fallen Daughters of Eve* (London and Portland, OR, 2003)

³ Stefan Slater, ‘Pimps, Police and *Fille de Joie*: Foreign Prostitution in Interwar London’, *The London Journal*, 32:1 (2007), 53-74; *Street Sex for Sale in Soho, 1918-39* (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of London, 2007); ‘Prostitutes and Popular History: Notes on the “Underworld”, 1918-1939’, *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés*, 13:1 (2009), 27-48; ‘Containment: Managing Street Prostitution in London, 1918-1959’, *Journal of British Studies*, 49:2 (2010), 332-357; ‘Lady Astor and the Ladies of the Night: The Home Office, the Metropolitan Police and the Politics of the Street Offences Committee, 1927-28’, *Law and History Review*, 30:2 (2012), 533-573; ‘Street Disorder in the Metropolis, 1905-39’, *Law, Crime and History*, 1 (2012), 59-91.

⁴ *Idem.*, ‘Containment’, p. 355. Louise Jackson, ‘Review: *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens: Commercial Sex in London, 1885-1960* by Julia Laite’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 24:2 (2013), 315-317.

⁵ Matt Neale, ‘Research in urban history: recent theses on crime in the city, 1750-1900’, *Urban History*, 40:3 (2013), p. 570.

⁶ Laura Tabili, *Global Migrants, Local Culture: Natives and Newcomers in Provincial England, 1841-1939* (Basingstoke, 2011)

⁷ *The Times*, 22 February 1919, p. 7.

⁸ Samantha Caslin, ‘Flappers, Amateurs and Professionals: The Spectrum of Promiscuity in 1920s Britain’, in Kate Hardy, *et al* (eds), *New Sociologies of Sex Work* (Farnham and Burlington, VT, 2010), p. 11. Also see: Lucy Bland and Frank Mort, ‘Look Out for the “Good Time” Girl: Dangerous Sexualities as a Threat to National

Health', in Bill Schwarz (ed.), *Formations of a Nation and People* (London, 1984), pp. 131-151; Angela Woollacott, "'Khaki Fever' and its Control: Gender, Class, Age and Sexual Morality on the British Homefront in the First World War', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 29:2 (1994), 325-347

⁹ Roger Davidson and Lesley A. Hall (eds), *Sex, Sin and Suffering: Venereal Disease and European Society since 1870* (London, 2001), pp. 8-11.

¹⁰ This ambiguity reflects the comments of Timothy Gilfoyle, who has stressed the problematic nature of source material for prostitution and the resulting 'inherent empirical limits', often leaving it difficult to pinpoint the 'prostitute' in these debates. Timothy J. Gilfoyle, 'Prostitutes in History: From Parables of Pornography to Metaphors of Modernity', *American Historical Review*, 104:1 (1999), 117-141. See also: 'Prostitutes in the Archives: Problems and Possibilities in Documenting the History of Sexuality', *American Archivist*, 57:3 (1994), 514-527.

¹¹ Wilson, 'Problems peculiar to the Bute Town area or shipping quarter of the City and Port of Cardiff', 6 January 1929. Women's Library (WL) 3AMS/08/B/02.

¹² For the 'coconstruction' of 'whiteness', see: Ruth Frankenberg, *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness* (London, 1993), p. 17.

¹³ Mica Nava, *Visceral Cosmopolitanism: Gender, Culture and the Normalisation of Difference* (Oxford and New York, 2007), p. 10

¹⁴ Mark Clapson, 'The American contribution to the urban sociology of race relations in Britain from the 1940s to the early 1970s', *Urban History*, 33:2 (2006), 253-273; Marcus Collins, 'Pride and Prejudice: West Indian Men in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, 40:3 (2001), 391-418; Chris Waters, "'Dark Strangers" in Our Midst: Discourses of Race and Nation in Britain, 1947-1963', *Journal of British Studies*, 36:2 (1997), 207-238.

¹⁵ Nava, 'Sometimes antagonistic, sometimes ardently sympathetic: Contradictory responses to migrants in postwar Britain', *Ethnicities*, 14:3 (2014) [OnlineFirst: doi: 10.1177/1468796813508115].

¹⁶ Lucy Bland, *Modern Women on Trial: Sexual Transgression in the Age of the Flapper* (Manchester and New York, 2013), Ch. 2.

¹⁷ For post-war miscegenation, see: Bland, 'White Women and Men of Colour: Miscegenation Fears in Britain after the Great War', *Gender and History*, 17:1 (2005), 29-61; Tabili, "'Women of a Very Low Type": Crossing Racial Boundaries in Imperial Britain', in Laura L. Frader and Sonya O. Rose (eds), *Gender and Class in Modern Europe* (Ithaca, NY, 1996), pp. 165-90.

¹⁸ Josef Konvitz, 'Contemporary Urban History: What the Study of Port Cities Implies for Evidence, Methodology, and Conceptualization', *Journal of Urban History*, 39:4 (2013), 801-806.

¹⁹ See: M. J. Daunton, *Coal Metropolis: Cardiff 1870-1914* (Leicester, 1977).

²⁰ See: Neil Evans, 'The South Wales Race Riots of 1919', *Llafur*, 3:1 (1980), 5-29; 'The South Wales Race Riots of 1919: a documentary postscript', *Llafur*, 3:4 (1983), 76-88; 'Regulating the reserve army: Arabs, blacks, and the local state in Cardiff, 1919-45', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 4:2 (1985), 68-115; 'Region, Nation, Globe: Roles, Representations and Urban Space in Cardiff, 1839-1928' in Andreas Fahrmeir and Elfie Rembold (eds), *Representation of British Cities: The Transformation of Urban Space 1700-2000* (Berlin and Vienna: Philo, 2003), pp. 108-129.

²¹ Daunton, *Coal Metropolis*, p. 74, p. 142.

²² See: Walkowitz, "'We Are Not Beasts of the Field'".

²³ *Western Mail*, 1 December 1869, p. 2.

²⁴ *Cardiff Argus*, 15 June 1889, p. 11.

²⁵ For example, see articles in *Cardiff Times & South Wales Weekly News* on 3 January 1885, p.6; 10 January 1885, p. 8; 28 March 1885, p. 2.

²⁶ See: *Western Mail*, 1 December 1869, p. 2.

²⁷ Bland, 'White Women and Men of Colour', p. 34

²⁸ W. W. Harrison, Deputy Chief Constable, 'The City and Port of Cardiff – Alien and Coloured Races', *Metropolitan Police College Journal*, 2:2 (1936), 197-204.

²⁹ See the following articles by Evans: 'The South Wales Race Riots of 1919'; 'The South Wales Race Riots of 1919: a documentary postscript'; 'Regulating the reserve army; and 'Across the Universe: Racial Violence and the Post-War Crisis in Imperial Britain', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 13:2-3, 59-88. Jacqueline Jenkinson has conducted studies of Glasgow and Britain in general. See: 'The Glasgow Race Disturbances of 1919', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 4:2 (1985), 43-67; 'Black Sailors on Red Clydeside: Rioting, Reactionary Trade Unionism and Conflicting Notions of "Britishness" Following the First World War', *Twentieth Century British History*, 19:1 (2008), 29-60; *Black 1919: Riots, Racism and Resistance in Imperial Britain* (Liverpool, 2009).

³⁰ See: Evans, 'Regulating the Reserve Army'.

³¹ Report from Chief Constable J. A. Wilson, Cardiff City Police, to the Home Office, 23 September 1927. Glamorgan Archives. (GA) DCONC/7/7.

³² Report from Wilson to the Home Office, 14 October 1930. GA DCONC/7/7.

³³ Wilson, 'Problems peculiar to the Bute Town area or shipping quarter of the City and Port of Cardiff', 10 April 1929. WL 3AMS/08/B/02.

³⁴ *Idem.*, 'Problems peculiar to the Bute Town area or shipping quarter of the City and Port of Cardiff', 6 January 1929.

³⁵ See: Tabili, 'The Construction of Racial Difference in Twentieth-Century Britain: The Special Restriction (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order, 1925', *Journal of British Studies*, 33:1 (1994), 54-98.

³⁶ G. W. Brown, 'Investigation of Colonial Coloured Seamen in Cardiff', *Keys*, 3:2 (1935), p. 19. Home Secretary William Joynson Hicks was a supporter of the Aliens Order, and notoriously puritanical and anti-Semitic (see *ibid*).

³⁷ For instance, a week prior to the publication of an article on the police's 1929 report the *Daily Herald* ran an article on unemployment and the presence of Arab seamen in Butetown. See: *Daily Herald*, 4 January 1929, p. 6.

³⁸ *Daily Telegraph*, 10 January 1929, p. 15.

³⁹ *The Times*, 11 January 1929, p. 9.

⁴⁰ *Daily Herald*, 10 January 1929, p. 5.

⁴¹ *Daily Herald*, 11 January 1929, p. 2.

⁴² Wilson, 'Problems peculiar to the Bute Town area or shipping quarter of the City and Port of Cardiff', 6 January 1929.

⁴³ See: Anne Spry Rush, 'Imperial Identity in Colonial Minds: Harold Moody and the League of Coloured Peoples, 1931-50', *Twentieth Century British History*, 13:4 (2002), 356-383. For examples of the LCP's work in Cardiff, see Brown, 'Investigation of Colonial Coloured Seamen in Cardiff'; Cecil P. Lewis, 'Cardiff Report – General Survey', *Keys*, 3:2 (1935), 16-18; Cecil P. Lewis and G. W. Brown, 'We Too Were in Cardiff', *Keys*, 3:1 (1935), 4; Harold A. Moody, 'The League of Coloured Peoples and the Problem of the Coloured Colonial Seamen in the United Kingdom', *Keys*, 3:2 (1935), 22-24; Nancie Sharpe, 'Cardiff's Coloured Population', *Keys*, 1:3 (1934), p. 44.

⁴⁴ Mark Christian, 'The Fletcher Report 1930: A Historical Case Study of Contested Black Mixed Heritage Britishness', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 21:2-3 (2008), 213-241.

⁴⁵ Nancie Sharpe, 'Report on the Negro Population in London and Cardiff' (1932), Cardiff Central Library (CCL) LC84:301.185 SHA., p. 23, p. 95, p. 33.

⁴⁶ *Eadem.*, 'Report on the Negro Population in London and Cardiff', pp. 47-8.

- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 44; 'Report on the Negro Population in London and Cardiff', p. 70;
- ⁴⁸ *Eadem.*, 'Report on the Negro Population in London and Cardiff', p. 45.
- ⁴⁹ See press examples cited in Bland, 'White Women and Men of Colour'.
- ⁵⁰ Sharpe, 'Report on the Negro Population in London and Cardiff', p. 43.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.
- ⁵² Cited in Christian, 'The Fletcher Report 1930', pp. 227-8
- ⁵³ Sharpe, 'Report on the Negro Population in London and Cardiff', p. 43.
- ⁵⁴ Lizzie Seal, 'Designating Dependency: The "Socially Inadequate" in the United States, 1910-1940', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 26:2 (2013), p. 156.
- ⁵⁵ Lesley Hall, 'Hauling Down the Double Standard: Feminism, Social Purity and Sexual Science in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain', *Gender and History*, 16:1 (2004), 36-56.
- ⁵⁶ Sharpe, 'Report on the Negro Population in London and Cardiff', p. 5; 'Cardiff's Coloured Population', p. 32.
- ⁵⁷ Gladys Mary Hall, *Prostitution: A Survey and a Challenge* (London, 1933), p. 47.
- ⁵⁸ *Western Mail*, 8 July, 1935, p. 9.
- ⁵⁹ For an analysis of interwar eugenics, see: Bland, 'British Eugenics and "Race Crossing": Study of an Interwar Investigation', *New Formations*, 60 (2007), 66-78.
- ⁶⁰ *Daily Herald*, 10 January 1929, p.5; 11 January 1929, p. 2.
- ⁶¹ *Daily Herald*, 11 January 1929, p. 2.
- ⁶² Sharpe, 'Report on the Negro Population in London and Cardiff', p. 88.
- ⁶³ Wilson, 'Problems peculiar to the Bute Town area or shipping quarter of the City and Port of Cardiff', 10 April 1929.
- ⁶⁴ Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality since 1800* (London and New York, [1981] 1989), p. 206.
- ⁶⁵ Hall, *Prostitution*, p. 47.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 48.
- ⁶⁷ Philippa Levine, 'Naked Truths: Bodies, Knowledge, and the Erotics of Colonial Power', *Journal of British Studies*, 52:1 (2013), p. 18.
- ⁶⁸ Elazar Barkan has charted how the respectability of the application of racial-biological perspectives declined from the 1920s: *The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States Between the World Wars* (Cambridge, New York and Melbourne, [1992] 1996). Gavin Schaffer has covered

similar debates from the 1930s, yet has argued that the changes in thinking about race was a ‘complex and uneven process’: “‘Like a Baby with a Box of Matches’: British Scientists and the Concept of “Race” in the Inter-War Period’, *British Journal for the History of Science*, 38:3 (2005), 307-324.

⁶⁹ Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*.

⁷⁰ For Stead’s ‘Maiden Tribute’ and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, see: Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, chapters 3 and 4.

⁷¹ Thomas’s activities were reported by the *Pittsburgh-Gazette Times* on the eve of his lecturing tour of the United States, 19 October 1919, p. 7.

⁷² Minutes of the South Wales and Monmouthshire Vigilance Association, January 1927. National Library of Wales MS 15450C.

⁷³ *South Wales Daily News*, 30 October 1926.

⁷⁴ Wilson, ‘Problems peculiar to the Bute Town area or shipping quarter of the City and Port of Cardiff’, 6 January 1929.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* These links were again made by the Deputy Chief Constable in the mid-1930s: Harrison, ‘The City and Port of Cardiff – Alien and Coloured Races’, p. 203.

⁷⁶ Ruth Landes, ‘Review: *Coloured Minorities in Britain* by Sydney Collins’, *American Anthropologist*, 61:1 (1959), 173-174.

⁷⁷ Kenneth Little, *The Coloured Folk of Cardiff – A Challenge to Reconstruction*, *New Statesman and Nation*, 19 December 1942, p. 406; Loudoun Square: A Community Survey – I (An Aspect of Race Relations in English Society), *Sociological Review*, 34:1- 2 (1942), 12-33; ‘Loudoun Square: A Community Survey – II (An Aspect of Race Relations in English Society)’, *Sociological Review*, 34:3-4 (1942), 119-146; ‘Race Relations in English Society: Preliminary Report on a Community Survey’, *Man*, Vol. 42 (1942), 90-91; ‘The Psychological Background of White-Coloured Contacts in Britain’, *Sociological Review*, 35:1-2 (1943), 12-28; *Negroes in Britain: A Study of Racial Relations in English Society* (London, 1947). For those influenced by Little, see: Sydney F. Collins, ‘The Social Position of White and “Half-Caste” Women in Coloured Groupings in Britain’, *American Sociological Review*, 16: 6 (1951), 796-802; Collins, ‘The British-Born Coloured’, *Sociological Review*, 3:1 (1955), 77-92; Collins, *Coloured Minorities in Britain: Studies in British Race Relations based on African, West Indian, and Asiatic Immigrants* (London, 1957) St Clair Drake, ‘The “Colour Problem” in Britain: A Study in Social Definitions’, *Sociological Review*, 17: 5 (1955), 197-217.

⁷⁸ Little, ‘Loudoun Square: A Community Survey – II’, p. 131.

⁷⁹ *Idem.*, *Negroes in Britain*, p. 114.

⁸⁰ Levine, 'Naked Truths', p. 17.

⁸¹ Little, *Negroes in Britain*, p. 43, n. 2.

⁸² Phil Hubbard and Teela Sanders, 'Making Space for Sex Work: Female Street Prostitution and the Production of Urban Space', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27:1 (2003), 75-89.

⁸³ Slater, 'Containment'; Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*.

⁸⁴ See: Report from Wilson to the Home Office, 23 September 1927; Report from the Home Office to Wilson, 31 October 1927, GA DCONC 7/7; reports from the Chief Constable to the Watch Committee (GA DCONC/1/1/1-13) and Cardiff City Police licensing records (GA DCONC/7/1/1-10).

⁸⁵ See: Report from Wilson to the Home Office, 14 October 1930; Little, 'Loudoun Square: A Community Survey – I'.

⁸⁶ Police records and statistics tell us more about attitudes to crime and communities and policing methods, rather than actual instances of particular activities. For such arguments, see: Howard Taylor, 'Forging the job: a crisis of "modernization" or redundancy for the police in England and Wales, 1900-39', *British Journal of Criminology*, 39:1 (1999), 113-135.

⁸⁷ Sharpe, 'Report on the Negro Population in London and Cardiff', pp. 85-6.

⁸⁸ Hall, *Prostitution*, p. 48.

⁸⁹ *South Wales Echo*, 10 January 1929, p. 6.

⁹⁰ *South Wales Echo*, 4 July 1935, p. 1.

⁹¹ A. B., 'Correspondence: The Colour Problem in Wales', *Welsh Outlook*, 18:5 (1931), pp. 137-138

⁹² Sharpe, 'Report on the Negro Population in London and Cardiff', p. 33, p. 102.

⁹³ *Eadem.*, 'Cardiff's Coloured Population', p. 5.

⁹⁴ Minutes of the Committee on Port Welfare (Joint Council of BSHC and BCWMM), 4 April 1935. Wellcome Library (WLL) SA BSH/B.4/1; 'The Welfare of the Mercantile Marine: Summary of speeches and paper presented at the Conference on the Welfare of the Mercantile Marine held at the Seventh Imperial Social Hygiene Congress, 8 July 1935', *Health and Empire*, 10:3 (1935), pp. 209-10.

⁹⁵ Minutes of the Committee on Port Welfare (Joint Council of BSHC and BCWMM), 18 December 1934. WLL SA BSH/B.4/1.

⁹⁶ Joint Council of BSHC and BCWMM, 'Social Conditions in Ports and Dockland Areas' (1935), WL 3AMS/B/08/03.

⁹⁷ Joint Council of BSHC and BCWMM, 'Social Conditions in Ports and Dockland Areas'.

⁹⁸ Little, *Negroes in Britain*, p. 51.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹⁰⁰ *Idem.*, 'The Coloured Folk of Cardiff – A Challenge to Reconstruction'.

¹⁰¹ Levine, *Prostitution, Race, and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (New York and London, 2003), p. 6.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Brown, 'Investigation of Colonial Coloured Seamen in Cardiff', p. 21. Emphasis in the original.

¹⁰⁴ Dai Smith, *Wales! Wales?* (London and Sydney, 1984), p. 2, p. 25.

¹⁰⁵ See: Gwyn A. Williams, *The Welsh in their history* (London, 1982), Ch. 7; and *When Was Wales? A History of the Welsh* (London, 1985), especially chapters 9-11. Prys Gruffudd, 'Remaking Wales: nation-building and the geographical imagination, 1925-50', *Political Geography*, 14:3 (1995), 219-239; 'Tradition, Modernity and the Countryside: The Imaginary Geography of Rural Wales', *Contemporary Wales*, 6 (1994), 33-47; and 'Prospects of Wales: Contested Geographical Imaginations', in Ralph Fevre and Andrew Thompson (eds), *Nation, Identity and Social Theory: Perspectives from Wales* (Cardiff, 1999), pp. 149-169. Also see: W. T. R. Pryce, 'Region or National Territory? Regionalism and the Idea of the Country of Wales, c.1927-1998', *Welsh History Review*, 23:2 (2007), 99-152.

¹⁰⁶ John MacKenzie, 'Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English Worlds? A Four-Nation Approach to the History of the British Empire', *History Compass*, 6:5 (2008), 1244-1263. See also: Aled Jones and Bill Jones, 'The Welsh World and the British Empire, c.1851-1939: An Exploration', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 31:2 (2003), 57-81 and 'Empire and the Welsh Press', in Simon J. Potter (ed.), *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain: Reporting the British Empire, c.1857-1921* (Dublin and Portland, OR, 2004), pp. 75-91; Keith Robbins, 'Forever a Footnote? Wales in Modern British History', in T. M. Charles-Edwards and R. J. W. Evans (eds), *Wales and the Wider World: Welsh History in an International Context* (Donington, 2010), p. 218-236.

¹⁰⁷ Charlotte Williams, 'Passports to Wales? Race, Nation and Identity', in Fevre and Thompson (eds), *Nation, Identity and Social Theory*, p. 70. Also see: Ian Pritchard, "'Beer and Britannia": public-house culture and the construction of nineteenth-century British-Welsh industrial identity', *Nations and Nationalism*, 18:2 (2012), 326-345.

¹⁰⁸ Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*; Slater, 'Pimps, Police and Fille de Joie'.